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HAPPY NEW YEAR?

WE are entirely in agreement with those who call for the resignation of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton. Throughout his period of office, he has shown a determined and obstinate resolve to pursue his own lines of policy regardless of the opinions of those on whom they are imposed. The New Year opens with chaos in Kenya. If no change takes place, it may well end with chaos in Central Africa.

Last April, four African delegations visited this country to express their views on the federation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with Southern Rhodesia. Two of them were sent at their own expense by the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland African National Congresses. Two were officially invited by the British Government to attend the Conference which drew up the Draft Scheme for federation. They came from the Legislative Councils and the African territorial councils constitutionally established to express African opinions to the local Governments. All four expressed identical views—that their people were so hostile to even the principle of federation that it was useless for them to participate in discussions on the details. They have not changed their views.

Mr. Lyttelton now proposes to invite further discussion of the subject. He appears to rely on the instincts of Mr. Hopkinson to tell him what Africans really think, and evidently feels he is safe in ignoring not only the bodies established by Government but also the organisations which Africans have built for themselves. But events since April have made the position worse, not better. The *Draft Scheme*, when published, aroused more misgivings than the original *Report* of the officials conference—misgivings which were not allayed by the three subsidiary reports.*

Attempts to 'explain' the Scheme to Africans have sown doubt and confusion instead of bringing clarification. The feeling that their Governments have deserted them has caused Chiefs in both territories to take action which a year ago would have seemed inconceivable. In November a conference of Nyasaland Chiefs assembled at Lilongwe to reaffirm their opposition to federation and to demand constitutional changes in Nyasaland itself. In August, 105 Chiefs and representatives attended a conference called for the same purpose by the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress. Opposition is not confined to Chiefs. The African Protectorate Council in Nyasaland has declined to nominate delegates to this month's conference, despite an assurance that delegates would be permitted to put forward alternative proposals if they objected to the Draft Scheme. At the time of writing, no decision has been announced

the time of writing, no decision has been announced in Northern Rhodesia.

During the same period, the Government of Northern Rhodesia has had time to push forward

some of the proposals for inter-racial partnership listed in its own statement of policy. The results, listed on our back page, are derisory. As long ago as July 21, 1948, Mr. Tom Driberg was informed that Chambers of Commerce were to be invited to discuss 'window-shopping'; now they are to be invited again. In July, 1952, the African representatives in Legislative Council asked for elections to the African Representative Council and more Africans in Legislative Council. Yet on December 10 Mr. Lyttelton, replying to Mr. John Hynd in the House of Commons, was unable to say what constitutional changes will be on the agenda when discussions are resumed after the Federation Conference. Mr. Welensky has already hinted at demands for more portfolios in Executive Council. How can African leaders be expected to risk loss of support from their own people by

^{*} Draft Federal Scheme: Report of the Fiscal Commission (Cmd. 8672), Report of the Judicial Commission (Cmd. 8671), Report of the Civil Service Preparatory Commission (Cmd. 8673), H.M. Stationery Office.

accepting Mr. Lyttelton's invitation when no hope is held out to them before they come and no respect paid to their views when they are here?

If African affairs continue to be conducted in this spirit, there will soon be no reasonable African politicians left. At present, they are making great efforts to express their aims in moderate terms. The call for an 'all-black' Government is no longer heard in Northern Rhodesja. Instead, a carefully-argued case for advance to self-government by stages, with representation guaranteed to non-Africans, has been argued by the President of the Congress, and has received substantial support. In Kenya, the new leaders of the Kenya African Union have suggested reservation of seats for non-Africans. The 'Gold Coast' bogy has receded. It will be Mr. Lyttelton's fault if it again raises its head.

A Meeting of Minds

The need to work with rather than against African leaders requires urgent recognition, and an attempt must be made to achieve some meeting of minds. We are constantly told that East and Central Africa have had only 50 years of effective European influence and that the impact of highly developed and civilised communities fell on territories where extremely primitive conditions prevailed. The logical deduction—that a terrible strain is imposed on the minds of everybody involved—is less frequently drawn.

But two publications leave us in no further doubt. Dr. Leakey's account* of the rapid destruction of the basic organisation of a tribe presents a terrifying picture. Land rights, marriage customs, family and tribal organisation, religious beliefs, have all been eroded, leaving large numbers of Kikuyu without the normal supports that every man needs. It is significant that Dr. Leakey concludes that Mau Mau was exposed by the older Kikuyu who knew that Mau Mau perverted the old customs, and that the conduct of those who have genuinely accepted Christianity has provoked a missionary to write:—

'The tales I have heard are of first-century Christianity: of men and women, boys and girls who really do believe in Jesus and so are not afraid to die. Some do die. For all it is a possibility to be reckoned with. Yet they are happy and at peace: triumphant and not bitter. I have never seen anything like it before.' †

These people have found some stability, but they

are very few. What of the others? It is useless to console the House of Commons with statements that disorder in Kenya is found in one tribe only, in an area about the size of Surrey. 'Unrest, associated with secret society activities, is just beneath the surface in other parts of Kenya,' the C.M.S. has warned us, and there is already evidence that it is becoming associated with anti-European activities. Anyone who has contact with Africans knows that frustration and bitterness are widespread throughout the territories for which we are responsible, and may break out in a variety of forms unless we approach the leaders who are in a position to misdirect it with a genuine intention of understanding their attitudes and working with them. If we cannot do this, there is no reason why they should try to understand ours.

This is what Mr. Lyttelton has failed to do, and shows no sign of doing, yet Sir Philip Mitchell's Despatches* have given ample warning of the evidence of the social and economic revolution through which Africans are passing. Congestion of population can be relieved only by drawing off surplus people either into land or into other occupations. Mixed farming, which has been developed with success in Northern Nigeria, and on a smaller scale in the Nyanza Province of Kenya, is a step forward. So is the settlement of new land, but the 400 families recently established in Makueni may themselves find the area over-populated in the next generation if the problem is not tackled at its root. The appointment of the Royal Commission is an attempt to strike down to the root, and its membership (though announced very late) is excellent. But it cannot report for at least 18 months, and meanwhile Kenya runs the whole gambit of emergency laws, collective punishment, intimidation and murder. If the task is, as Sir Philip Mitchell says 'to devise measures which will turn the people ... from bitter preoccupation with the real or imaginary past to a hopeful and happy enthusiasm for the future,' there must be men to perform it. Whether or not they will be available depends on the conduct of affairs now.

This is true throughout Africa, though the burning issues of Kenya and Central Africa provide at the moment the most obvious examples. These two issues, moreover, are being watched in other areas, including West Africa. It may well be that the events of 1953 will determine whether we can go forward in co-operation or whether a psychological iron curtain will fall which afterwards it will be exceedingly difficult to raise.

^{*}L. S. B. Leakey, Man Man and the Kikuyu. (Methuen, 7s. 6d.)

[†] Quoted in Mau Mau, Special issue of C.M.S. Membership Bulletin, Church Missionary Society, 6d.

^{*} Land and Population in East Africa. Colonial No. 290, H.M. Stationery Office. 1s. 3d.

CHANGE OF LINE IN MALAYA?

IF, as has been reported, the Communist line in Malaya is changing from armed rebellion to peaceful penetration, the Government of Malaya will soon be facing a major political challenge. Terrorist casualties have been steadily rising in the last few months, and there have also been some grounds for thinking that deliberate withdrawals are taking place. The Communists may now turn their attention to capturing voluntary organisations, particularly trade unions, and to dominating such municipal and village councils as have been established. This would be the policy they followed in the years immediately after the war—the policy subsequently denounced as "Rightist opportun-Conditions in Malaya have, however, changed since 1948. Then the Military Administration had just handed over to the official régime, the new Federal Constitution was still subject to controversy and attack, food was scarce, the country's economy was disrupted, and no unifying idea had emerged from the disillusionment and suffering of the Japanese occupation. The Communists hoped to step into the vacuum, and went far towards dominating the trade unions and the Council for Joint Action which proposed a democratic constitution cutting across communal divisions. Since then, the 'emergency' has dominated Malavan life, but there have been substantial advances in education, economic development and in non-Communist political and trade union organisation. It would be catastrophic if at this stage fear of Communist penetration inhibited political advance. The present programme, under which about 60 Local Councils should be operating now, 17 Town Councils with elected majorities by the middle of the year and the first elected State or Settlement Council within 18 months, is already too slow, and no mention has been made of elections to the Legislative Council. The principal obstacle to elections (excepting the emergency) has now been overcome in the settlement of the citizenship issue. It is not too soon to begin negotiations to find possible agreement on a basis for election to the legislature. It may be better, as General Templar said at his press conference on December 4, 'to build democracy slowly, in fact, than to preach enthusiastically about unreal Utopias.' But it is precisely about 'unreal Utopias' that the Communists will preach. It will be impossible to answer them satisfactorily as long as the democratic idea which is opposed to them is not made real in the legislative body which controls the country. All the problems of qualifications for the

franchise, the balance of the communities and the control of the executive by the legislature remain to be solved before the new Constitution can be brought into being. No constructive proposals on these subjects have yet been put forward in Malaya. It is time that the Federal Government prepared to make them itself.

DAMMING THE VOLTA

THE White Paper* on the Gold Coast Volta River Aluminium Scheme outlines the financial proposals likely to be adopted if the scheme is carried through. It was announced in November that the British Government favours participation in the scheme, and has agreed with the Gold Coast Government to set up a Preparatory Commission to examine the chief problems which would have to be overcome in carrying it out. At present it is suggested that the United Kingdom and Gold Coast Governments should join with Canadian and United Kingdom aluminium producers to develop large-scale aluminium production. The Gold Coast Government would finance and carry out the public works—a new port, a railway and roads and townships at the site of the dam across the Volta. The United Kingdom Government will have the major responsibility for financing the hydroelectric power project, with the Gold Coast contributing as far as its resources permit. Aluminium Company of Canada and the British Aluminium Company will have to find nearly £21m. in the early stages for the development and operation of the bauxite mines and aluminium smelter with a contribution of about one-fifth of the capital from the United Kingdom Government and a minority holding reserved for the Gold Coast Government which, at a later stage, will seek to redistribute its holding to private investors in the Gold Coast. The new company thus established will be required to offer at least 75 per cent of its production to the United Kingdom, which at present draws over four-fifths of its virgin aluminium from dollar sources.

If this scheme is adopted, will it be acceptable to the people of the Gold Coast? They will benefit from the creation of a whole new industry, but there will be many social problems to meet as well as the financial sacrifice entailed by investment in a scheme which is not expected to begin to earn until after seven years. It is estimated that 30,000 workers will be required for construction work

^{*} Cmd. 8702, H.M. Stationery Office, 9d.

alone, and many people will have to move from their homes. The scheme has been discussed periodically in the Gold Coast since 1924, and its implications should by now be well understood by the leading politicians. The Gold Coast Government has obviously recognised that the country itself cannot build up an aluminium industry, nor find the £100m, required to start. It also realises that it must provide a quid pro quo if so large an investment is to come from outside. obvious that, if the scheme as at present outlined is adopted, it will be paying a very heavy price in outside control of important mineral resources. There should be provision in any agreement that may be reached for a fair consideration of this position after a specified number of years. Otherwise, it is difficult to see how the Gold Coast will avoid the development of a situation comparable to that of British Guiana, where Canadian aluminium interests are firmly established and are frequently the target of political attack.

DISSENSION AT UNO

THE metropolitan powers administering nonself-governing territories are rapidly finding themselves in an impossible position at the United Nations. Where they are administering trust territories, the limits of UNO supervision are defined. When, for example, the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly 'invites' Britain to undo the settlement of the Meru lands in Tanganyika which was arrived at as part of a wider scheme recognised as being in many respects beneficial by the Trusteeship Council, the Tanganyika Government is not compelled to accept the invitation, although it is easy to imagine what will happen next year if it does not. When South Africa refuses to act in accordance with the advisory opinion on Southwest Africa given by the Hague Court, the case is much clearer, and South Africa, by any ordinary standards of responsible conduct, stands condemned. When, on the other hand, discussion goes further, and strays into the political aspect of conditions within the non-self-governing areas which are not trust territories, or into the field of internal administration of a member state, issues of principle become inextricably mixed with technical questions of competence and interpretation. Can UNO discuss the relations between France and Tunisia? Can it discuss South Africa's Nazi racial policies? Those who stick to the Charter say no. Others argue that even if action is impossible, discussion may help to expose injustice and to mobilise world opinion against it. In this discussion, expressions of the highest sentiments compete with ignorant and malicious nonsense for the attention of the world's peoples. Powers which are universally respected for their liberal outlook find

themselves ranged with such incongruous bedfellows as Liberia and Czechoslovakia. Countries like Britain, in defending South Africa's claim that internal affairs are her own business, are widely regarded as supporting the policies under fire, despite repeated assertions to the contrary. Countries which are themselves in the position of refusing to carry out UNO recommendations cheerfully claim that others must do so. Meanwhile, the dependent peoples wait and hope for UNO to take action which in many instances it has no power to take. This conduct of their affairs can become a cruel deception if it goes on much longer. Is it not possible for the United Nations to decide on the interpretation of their own Charter, or, if unable to decide, to seek an opinion from the Court of International Justice? If member states find it necessary after such a decision is reached, they can surely suggest amendments to the Charter and try to secure majority agreement for them? At the present time some wonderful work is being done for the dependent territories by the technical agencies of the United Nations, and there are many excellent people in other departments and in the territories themselves who can and do make a valuable contribution to the solution of the urgent and fundamental problems which cause so much controversy. If the position were clarified, they could do much more. But if the present wrangle continues indefinitely, there will ultimately be no trusteeship system within which to conduct it.

Without Comment

SOUTHERN RHODESIAN VOTERS

Provisional figures at the end of September, 1952, showed the following registration of voters in Southern Rhodesia:—

| Total register | ed | | 46,682 |
|----------------|----|------|--------|
| Asians | | 1 2. | 344 |
| Coloured | | | 501 |
| Africans | | | 379 |

These figures show clearly the overwhelming predominance of European voters on the common roll. Before he can register, a voter must have an income qualification of £140 a year or a property qualification of £500. If a referendum on Central Africa Federation is held in March, as at present intended, the roll will be closed to further registration in January.

Have you read

EAST AFRICAN FUTURE

A study of East African problems by an interracial group of East African students at Oxford (with a foreword by Margery Perham).

1/74d. (including postage).

POLICY IN KENYA

The present Legislative Council of Kenya held its first sitting on June 12, 1952, having been reconstituted. It now consists of eight ex-officio members, 21 elected members (14 European, six Asian, one Arab), seven representative members (six African, one Arab), and 18 nominated members (eight European officials, six European unofficials, one Arab, two Africans, one Indian). The nominated unofficial members, of whom one (Mr. Neep) has since resigned, are free to vote as they wish unless a three-line whip is applied. They are expected to give broad support to the following statement of Government policy issued on May 23, 1952.

Subject to the directions expressed in the Ordersin-Council, the Letters Patent and the Royal Instructions, the policy of the Government of Kenya in general terms may be expressed as follows:

(1) Recognition that East Africa is a single economic, strategic and transport region and that security, economic development and important services (e.g. defence, research, post-secondary education, rail, road, air and inland water transport, and Posts and Telegraphs) depend upon effective inter-territorial cooperation.

In particular the closest collaboration and association with the Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika; full support for the High Commission, Central Assembly and associated inter-territorial organisations, and readiness to consult at any time on measures for common action, especially common action, whether fiscal, legislative or administrative, for the maintenance of regional self-sufficiency in essential raw materials, foodstuffs, minerals or manufactures, to the extent that it can be shown to be practicable and economically desirable to do so.

(2) Acceptance as a member of the sterling area of obligations and responsibilities in respect of measures of economic and fiscal collaboration, not inconsistent with treaty obligations, to ensure the strength and

stability of sterling.

(3) The provision of adequate and expanding education and health services, particularly education, technical and vocational, so as to develop the capacity of the population to take advantage of contemporary

economic opportunity.

(4) The protection of the land, water and forests of the Colony from improper or excessive exploitation by man or beast; the reclamation or rehabilitation of areas damaged by erosion or over-stocking; the development of a sound, broadly based agriculture, stock raising and forestry, including organised marketing arrangements and prudent measures of price or yield guarantee and of collective marketing.

(5) The industrial, commercial and mineral develop-

ment of the country, so far as possible complementary to and in association with Uganda and Tanganyika Territory, and the continuous improvement of con-

ditions of employment.

(6) The special study of the economic, agrarian and social problems created by the impact of an economic age upon a population still largely in a subsistence society, aggravated by congestion of the land in some African areas and the defects of African traditional land tenure and agricultural and pastoral practices when confronted with contemporary conditions. The

vigorous execution of all measures capable of bringing relief in these respects and of improving the opportunities for progress, in agriculture or other occupations, of the African people.

(7) The development of soundly devised systems of local government, urban and rural, and the promotion of urban development with due regard to natural resources, social needs and economic factors such as transportation, the location of raw materials or

- (8) For the achievement of the foregoing broad objectives the continuance of prudent capital investment for the creation of economic assets necessary to the development of the country and the improvement of the general standard of living; and the encouragement of local capital investment by all appropriate measures, including means of dealing locally in stocks and shares.
- (9) The regulation of development policy in accordance with the capacity of the country to meet the resulting recurrent charges, and the creation of conditions designed to attract capital to the country. maintenance of a level of taxation based on the closest study of capacity to pay and the effect of taxation on the economy of the country and the standard of living of the individual. Insistence on the greatest practicable measures of economy and efficiency consistent with the maintenance of conditions in the public service adequate to ensure quality, integrity
- (10) The promotion of cordial relations between all races and the encouragement of inter-racial co-operation in the organs of central and local government.

(11) Recognition-

(a) that all possible steps should be taken to stabilise the cost of living; but

(b) that, as the economy of the country cannot be insulated from movements in world prices, the level of salaries and wages must take account of the real purchasing power of money.

(12) Finally, the Government feels obliged to say this: Policy may be expressed—it generally is—without particular reference to moral values or religious belief, but unless it is based upon them and activated by them it can have no permanent foundations. All policy must be judged by a higher standard than expedience or practicability, for policy must be not only prudent, practicable and progressive; it must also be just and right. Government will always endeavour to be guided by this principle, which it believes to override all others in importance.

OPINION

The Official Voice

We print below extracts from a speech in Swahili broadcast by the Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya, as reported in the 'East African Standard," 31.10.52.

'I want to talk to all of you Africans, who are listening to this broadcast, to the men, to the women and to the children of all tribes, but particularly I want to talk to the Kikuyu,' he said.

'I know that some of you are bewildered and some of you are frightened. I know that some of you don't understand what is happening in your country; I know that evil people are still telling you lies about what is happening; I know that because of this many of you are frightened on the one hand of these evil people and on the other hand of the Government.

'You see now many askaris going about the country, and some of you wonder why they are there, and want to know what they are doing. Now all of you know very well that during the last year or two many Kikuyus have taken a secret oath and have joined a secret society . . .

'Some people joined the society willingly, others were forced to join, some men, women and children: many were beaten before they agreed to join it and most of those who joined had to pay money to do so whether they liked it or not. People who did not join it were punished by the evil men who were organising it and carrying out the orders of the society.

'Houses were burnt down; sometimes people and their stock were burnt inside their houses as well; other people were murdered and had their heads cut off, or their bodies were thrown into the rivers . . .

'Although this evil work began more than a year ago, the Government hoped it would be able to stop it without calling in very large numbers of askaris, but during last month there were more murders, and it became obvious that the evil men who had led the Kikuyu to do these bad things must be removed; that peace must be restored; that fear of this society must be destroyed, and that the great numbers of loyal peaceful Kikuyu citizens must be enabled to go about their business, till their shambas, attend their markets and do their work in peace of mind, and freed from the terror which had enslaved them.

'So, on Monday night last week the Governor declared a State of Emergency. Those who had been connected with this wicked society, or had tried to stir up hatred between the peoples of this country were seized, and many askaris, both Police and K.A.R., were brought into the Central Province. British troops were also brought in case there was big trouble.

'That is why you see so many askaris around, for the strength of the Queen and her Government is great, and the Government is going to see that peace is restored.

When the Kikuyu saw all these askaris some of them were frightened, many of them ran away, particularly the young men, many of the people felt bitterness, some even continue to go on with this wicked secret society, and some have even taken the oath within the last few days. This is amazing, for they will not escape and the evil works of this society will disappear and pass as the wind . . .

'For the work of this society has done terrible

damage to the Kikuyu people. All over the world their name is linked with that of this evil society. This is a very sad thing, for the Government and all faithful and honest Africans hate and despise this secret Kiama of people who murder, who burn houses, who cut up cattle, who terrify people, who tell lies, and all good and faithful people want these things to stop.

You have many officers of Government in your districts who are there to help you. Your Chiefs, your Headman, your Location Councillors, your Village Elders, your Tribunal Elders are there to lead you back to peace and order and happiness; to restore the days when men and women were no longer frightened of hearing a knock at the hut door at night—the knock of the Mau Mau men who have come to drag you away to force you to take an oath, and to force you to bring bloodshed into the country; they are there to restore the days when children can go to school, and be taught the truth, no longer to be beaten into taking oaths or to be taught to hate their fellow men. Everybody wants these happy days to return.

'So when you hear that your District Commissioner is going to have a baraza, or when you see any officer from your Government moving about in your country, or coming to visit you in your village, you have nothing to fear; you should listen to his words, you should try to follow his advice. When you see askaris in your country, you honest people have nothing to fear; don't run away if you see them for if you do the askaris will think you have done some wrong and follow you. These men are your protectors from evil people who have brought terror into the land.

'If the Kikuyu or other people have any grievance or difficulties, they can give voice to them in the proper way; through the African District Councils or their Legislative Councillors. If they are so voiced Government will listen to them and try to help to solve their problems But if the cry of the people takes the form of murder and arson, no one will listen. No grievances or difficulties can be heard or solved until peace and order have been restored again.

'I hope that the rains will soon be here so that new crops can be planted; I hope that the seeds that are planted will be seeds of peace and plenty and that next year you may enjoy those fruits, and that happiness will return to the Kikuyu, that evil men may be uprooted, and that the people may be seen smiling and singing once more.'

Mr. Eliud Mathu's Broadcast

The following extracts are from the English translation of the broadcast in Kikuyu on December 1 by the African Member of Executive Council and Mr. Harry Thuku.

'The danger and state of emergency which is in the land at this time comes from the association which is known as Mau Mau, sometimes as the Oath Association, and is also sometimes called by some people the Association of the Oath of Mumbi, and sometimes the K.C.A. and various other names...

'We urge you to denounce this organisation, as we denounce it, together with its leaders and those who are its followers. Abandon everything to do with it,

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for there is no good thing that can come out of such acts, but only evil and sorrow and danger . . .

'There is nothing good—self-government or anything else—which can be achieved by violence. Similarly we cannot obtain more land by violent methods. We will ask the Government to try and find extra living space for our people peacefully.

'You know, moreover, that at the present time thousands of Kikuyu are being evicted from the settled area where they have lived as squatters, and some of them have done nothing evil and have lived there in peace and understanding with the Europeans for many years. But now they are being evicted and sent back to Kikuyuland, which is already overcrowded, because of the murders and other evil acts of Mau Mau . . .

'You have heard that a Royal Commission is coming soon to investigate the needs and troubles of the black people, including land matters and many others. Think a moment in your hearts, and you will agree that those members of the commission who are being sent out by our gracious Queen Elizabeth will not agree to listen to our needs and troubles at a time when some of the Kikuyu are doing these awful things in the country.

'We have many friends among other communities here and in the United Kingdom, but we shall lose their sympathy if you continue to act violently...

Get together then, you Kikuyu people, and reject Mau Mau and all its evil deeds, just as we have rejected it. Help the Government with all your might, so that we may together bring back peace to the country, and so that it may be possible to speak with one voice before the commission and before the Government and explain the needs of the Kikuyu. Thus only will our affairs, such as education, health, agriculture, commerce, and the rest, be able to go forward and prosper.'

The Twenty-Four Points

The following demands are made 'in the name of the people of Kenya' in a statment dated October 27, 1952, by F. W. Odede and J. A. Z. Murumbi, Acting President and Secretary of the Kenya African Union:—

- 1. Abolition by law of all racial discrimination.
- 2. 'That the paramount need of the African for land be satisfied. Meanwhile, there must be no further immigration of Europeans or Asians, except on a temporary basis for the purpose of providing personnel for essential services and industries.'
- 3. Extension of educational facilities, including higher and technical education, and compulsory primary education 'within the shortest possible time.'
- 4. 'The immediate introduction of the system of election, not nomination, of all African unofficial members of the Legislative Council.'
 - 5. 'A Common Roll for all three races.'
- 6. 'The reservation of an equal number of seats for Africans and non-Africans on the unofficial side of the Council.'
- 7. 'A franchise for Africans based initially on literacy and/or property qualifications, and including women.'

- 8. 'The nomination of equal numbers of Africans and non-Africans on the official side of the Council.'
- 9. 'The direct election, not nomination, of all African members of the proposed Constitutional Committee for Kenya and that the number of African, Asian and European members of the Committee be equal—failing which, Her Majesty's Government in Britain should be requested to set up an impartial Committee of British Constitutional experts.'
 - 10. Elective system in local government.
- 11. 'That Trade Unions be allowed to function freely, that registration be optional and not compulsory, and combination of trade unions be permitted.'
- 12. 'Full opportunity for Africans to demonstrate their loyalty to Kenya by serving in commissioned ranks in the Defence Forces and in the senior posts in the Civil Service.'
- 13. 'Assistance in the economic development of African farms in the form of loans on easy terms and the provision of Agricultural Schools where appropriate courses can be administered to African farmers.'
- 14. 'The payment of uniform prices to all producers of primary produce of which the purchase and sale is controlled, and the abrogation of all restrictive practices in the growth of certain crops.'
 - 15. 'Equal pay for equal qualifications and work.'
- 16. 'The immediate increase in the Minimum Wage by 33½%, to offset the high cost in living, and the provision of adequate housing accommodation for the thousands of houseless and bedless African workers in Nairobi and Mombasa.'
 - 17. Complete freedom of assembly and of speech.
- 18. 'That the terms of reference of the Royal Commission be widened to include a survey of all lands in Kenya.'
- 19. 'The earliest possible repeal of all recent repressive legislation including the Bill for the Registration of Societies.'
- 20. 'The release or immediate trial of all persons arrested since 20 October.'
- 21. 'Facilities to enable the independent African Press to start functioning again.'
- -22. 'The removal of all restrictions on the legitimate activities of the Kenya African Union.'
- 23. We request that a conciliation group be set up in Kenya to attempt the solution of the many difficult problems facing all races and that it be composed as follows:—

Chairman to be nominated by His Excellency the Governor. Two members each from the K.A.U., the Electors' Union and the Kenya Indian Congress. One European Elected M.L.C. and one African Unofficial M.L.C.

24. 'We demand the immediate implementation of the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.' 5 7 3

WHEN IS SELF GOVERNMENT NOT SELF GOVERNMENT?

THE United Nations Organisation has recently been caused more headaches over Article 73 of its Charter than by the actual Trust Territories. Problems have arisen which would be familiar to any student of the old League of Nations. Article 73, it may be remembered, is that Declaration whereby members of UNO which control non-self-governing territories not only undertake to promote their welfare and advancement, but under clause (e) agree to transmit to the Secretary-General information concerning the economic, social and educational conditions in these areas. If, therefore, a territory is acknowledged to be self-governing, the submission of information—and United Nations discussion on it—would cease.

Leaving aside the difficult question of South-west Africa, two other areas have given cause for possibly happier concern: Viet Nam has applied for membership of UNO on the grounds that its independence 'is a living reality'* even though disturbances have as yet forbidden the setting up of representative assemblies. Secondly, in a letter dated August 31, 1951, the Netherlands announced that it would no longer be transmitting information to the Secretary-General concerning Surinam and the Antilles in the West Indies, since their constitutional position no longer made this possible.

Two urgent questions immediately arise from these depositions: who is to say when a colonial area in fact becomes self-governing?—the metropolitan power or some United Nations body? Secondly, does full self-government imply complete independence or does it rather imply democratic internal institutions?

The Dutch have no doubts about the first question. If, they argue, full responsibility for social, economic and educational conditions has been transferred to a responsible and democratically constituted government it is no longer possible for the metropolitan power to transmit information. Further, the area with its newly acquired dignity would regard it as incompatible with its status that any other country should transmit information about it. As Mr. Spits acutely remarked on September 8, 1952,† 'The criticism by the General Assembly which in practice resulted from the submission of such information would not be acceptable to a member state, and should not therefore be any more acceptable to a territory which has attained self-government in its internal affairs.'

The problem of the relationship of self-government to independence is also relevant to the admission of states to the United Nations. The United Kingdom whose genius evolved the Statute of Westminster and Dominion status is naturally the protagonist of the

idea that 'concepts of self-government of a people and the independence of a territory by no means coincide.' Other members of UNO have their doubts. Particularly where land empires are concerned it is only too easy to provide forms of self-government which in fact are disguised annexation. Anything less than full legal independence is difficult to define, and moreover, patterns of relationship are seldom static. Although the Assembly* has conceded by interpretation that it is possible to have full self-government without independence, by the alternative of union with the metropolitan country on an equal footing, or as the British version was-autonomous, in no way subordinate in internal or external affairs, yet this union must be the freely expressed will of the people, and the alternative of independence must be offered.

During 1952 an ad hoc committee has been meeting to try to work out in detail some guiding principles on self-government. The General Assembly had before it a formidable list of factors which indicate the attainment of (a) Independence, (b) Equal Union, (c) Internal Self-Government. The factors range from the status of international responsibility and eligibility for membership of the United Nations to the state of political advancement of the population, control over national defence, and the methods by which the judiciary may be chosen. Since these problems are solved very differently by the member states of UNO it is likely that the General Assembly will spend a considerable time debating these issues.

It is a far cry from the original simple principle that when a state applied for membership of the United Nations it was automatically to be considered free and self-governing. In the early days of the League of Nations, the position of the British Dominions, genuinely advancing to free self-government, and often voting against the United Kingdom, was seized upon by all political bloes as a way of increasing British votes. A similar argument has more recently been used against Ceylon. Satellites with little independence or democracy in the Anglo-Saxon sense are pushed into membership of the United Nations and used as bargaining pawns before more genuinely self-governing areas can obtain a vote of entry.

One is forced back to the sad conclusion, concerning the best of legal institutions, so brilliantly expressed by T. S. Eliot, when he speaks of those who dream 'of systems so perfect that

No one will need to be good But the man that is will shadow The man that pretends to be.'

Molly Mortimer.

^{*} A/2168. † A/AC. 58/SR.5.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Sir,-I think every Socialist with any knowledge of conditions in Africa will agree that co-operative farming is the first necessary development for lifting the standard of life of its people. For this reason I do not think it is desirable that we should come into conflict about different co-operative ventures. Many of us are aware of the successful results which have accrued from the co-operative movements to which Margaret Digby refers in her letter in your November issue. In East Africa the achievement of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union is particularly encouraging.

Neither the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan nor the Federation of Uganda African Farmers' Partnerships is a co-operative society in the technical sense, but both of them apply the principle of co-operation to a very large extent. The Gezira Scheme is now entirely a venture in which the Sudan Government and the tenant farmers are partners. The tenant farmers enjoy the advantages of co-operation in the use of farming equipment and in the pooled sales of their product. I expect it was in this sense that Sir Richard Acland made reference in your October number to the Gezira Scheme as an example of the success of co-operation.

The Uganda Farmers' Federation has similarly adopted co-operative principles in many of its activities. It declined to accept the Co-operative Ordinance because in its view this permitted too much State intervention, but the Ordinance has now been amended, and I hope very much the Farmers' Federation will become registered under it. It includes 50,000 African farmers, and in any survey of the advantages of co-operation in the Colonies and Protectorates it Yours faithfully, cannot be overlooked.

House of Commons. Fenner Brockway.

Dear Sir,-Does Brigadier Ralston expect us to swallow that we who oppose Federation are allying with Rhodesian super-reactionaries, who are wholly in favour of Federation but distrust the safeguards demanded by the British Government in favour of the Africans? I fear that Sir Godfrey Huggins is of the same mind as the reactionaries, and that, while he may speak with 'two mouths,' as so ably portrayed by the Brigadier in his letter in your November number, the reactionary mouth is the true devourer.

This is the second letter to the press in favour of Federation which I have read signed by Brigadier Ralston. May I suggest that he might give his real reasons for this measure and not evade the issue by such a ridiculous suggestion of alliance between those who oppose the scheme genuinely and those who favour it but oppose the present plan-which, I suspect, will eventually be changed to suit the reactionaries. What these folk fear is that under the present Federation plan, they will find themselves controlled by the Colonial Office and that their white 'baaskapship' of Southern Rhodesia may come to an end. What we fear is the opposite, and it would seem that nobody trusts poor Sir Godfrey to keep his bargain, which is not surprising when his various utterances are compared, as admitted by the gallant Brigadier. who in his second paragraph portrays a most un-pleasing picture of Sir Godfrey as an incompetent modern Machiavelli, trying to fool both sides and believed by neither. No, Sir, I do not believe that any genuine Liberal or Labour supporter supports Yours faithfully, Federation.

North Transvaal, South Africa. J. L. Stewart.

Dear Sir,-In your article The Copperbelt Strike (December, 1952, p. 1) it is inferred that 'the European Mineworkers' Union's closed shop agreement with the Chamber of Mines excludes Africans from

nearly all skilled work.

That is not true—the position is much more complicated. The chief obstacle to African advancement in the mining industry is an agreement made between the European Mineworkers' Union and the African Mineworkers' Union six months after the African Mineworkers' Union was started. In this agreement, both Unions accept the principle that in all classes of work where Africans might take over jobs done by Europeans they should be paid equal rates with Europeans and should be given equal conditions with Europeans in regard to housing and all other amenities provided by the mining companies. Although this agreement on 'equal pay for equal work' looks a simple statement of a principle, in conditions which operate on the Copperbelt the provision acts as a most effective bar to Africans taking European jobs. Yours faithfully,

London. Trade Unionist.

Dear Sir,-As one who detests violence and agrees with the late Dr. Aggrey's conception of the Black and White keys of the piano which must be played together Venture (December, 1952) that understanding and sympathy are necessary in Kenya.

However, incidents too numerous to mention lead to conclusive proof that so far, except for a few far-sighted 'Whites,' the tune of actual harmony is being played by the 'Coloured' peoples alone; and that on the whole, the 'White' part of the world has little or no respect for achieving desirable ends through peaceful means. In West Africa since the war we have had police shootings in the Gold Coast in 1948 and in Enugu, Nigeria, in 1949. Now we have the fearful cloud hanging over Mount Kenya. An ounce of humanity might have saved most of these uprisings, instead of the use of tons of brutality and a show of force and power. Obviously, the disorders in Kenya are symptoms of man's inhumanity to man, accumulating over the years.

I am likely to be charged with being critical, even though very mild. Perhaps so. But I speak out of the abundance of goodwill for all and a great concern for the future of our common world-in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Europe. What I am trying to put across was said several years ago by Dr. Aggrey, 'the greatest African since St. Augustine.' Aggrey is dead, but his voice still rings out clear and true-so my friends, don't look down on Africa. Many are fussing about the blood of Jesus Christ now. I don't fuss about it. It stands for sacrifice. If only the white race could make the supreme sacrifice, not of blood, but of what we generally call race superiority, if you could give that up and become brothers Yours faithfully with us!

Lawrence Apalara Fabunmi. London.

Parliament

Powers of Court of Appeal in Kenya. Mr. John Hynd asked how far it was within the competence of the Court of Appeal in Kenya to review the evidence as well as the sentence in any case where the evidence had been obtained on affidavit. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the Court could, on appeal, or on reference, quash, modify or confirm these sentences, and could and should at the same time review the evidence and decide whether it was admissible and the weight that should be attached to it. (November 26.)

Appeal Against Deportation. Mrs. White asked the Secretary of State whether he would consider instituting some method by which persons deported from a colonial territory without any hearing of their case could appeal against such a decision. Mr. Lyttelton said that colonial governments must retain the normal right of all administrations to deport aliens without prior judicial enquiry or subsequent appeal. He added that most colonial Governors had agreed that judicial process should normally be obligatory before a British subject or British protected person was deported. Correspondence was proceeding with Governors in outstanding cases. But there must occasionally be cases in which the public interest would not permit the delay involved in enquiry or appeal. In answer to a supplementary question in which Mrs. White urged that a hearing should be given to Mr. Peter Wright, Mr. Lyttelton added that this gentleman had been a civil servant and precluded from political activities. (December

Penal Code Ordinance in Kenya. Mrs. White asked for what period the Kenya Penal Code (Amendment) Ordinance, 1952, was enforced which enabled a court to prohibit a person convicted of receiving, conveying or possessing stolen property from pursuing a trade or business for a named period or permanently, if the offence had been committed in the course of such trade or business. Mr. Lyttelton replied that there was no time limit to the operation of this Ordinance. In a supplementary question Mrs. White argued that to make this kind of Ordinance a permanent change in the Penal Code was not really in keeping with the undertaking that had been given to the House that controversial legislation would be of only one year's duration and would then lapse. She asked that the Secretary of State would assure the House that this particular Ordinance would be revoked when the other Emergency Ordinances came to an end. Mr. Lyttelton said that he could not give that assurance because it was not a controversial piece of legislation. He added that no objections to the Ordinance had been made when it was considered by the Legislative Council and that the African representative member had spoken in support. It happened to be modelled upon the Section of the United Kingdom Goods and Services (Price Control) Act, 1941, which imposed similar penalties for offences committed under the Act. (December 3.)

Uganda Cotton and Coffee Price Assistance Funds. In reply to a question by Mr. Rankin; Mr. Lyttelton said that on October 10, 1952, the Uganda Cotton and Coffee Price Assistance Funds amounted respectively to £20,301,810 and £11,468,672. (November 26.)

Housing in Singapore. Mr. Awbery asked the Secretary of State whether he was aware that the Singapore Government had stated that a minimum of 13,000 houses a year was necessary over a period of ten years; that the Singapore Improvement Trust was planning to build only 1,200 units in 1953; and what steps were being taken to increase the number of houses, and in particular, to meet the need of low-cost housing for workers earning less than 200 dollars a month. (1 Malayan dollar = 2/4d.) Mr. Lyttelton replied that the target of 1,200 units to accommodate 8,000 people was for 1952. The Singapore Improvement Trust had now altered its policy and was concentrating on low-cost flats to be let at an average rental of 20 dollars a month. He was awaiting information about the 1953 programme. (November 26.)

Education in Singapore. In reply to a question by Mr. Awbery, Mr. Lyttelton said that some 50,000 Singapore children between six and 12 did not go to school. The target was universal primary education for 1960. Thirty-six new primary schools had been built or were under construction. Sixty-two more should be completed in the next five years. (November 26.)

Co-operation and Cotton Ginneries in Uganda. In reply to a question by Mr. Beswick, Mr. Lyttelton said that four ginneries had been acquired by the Government on behalf of three registered African co-operative unions. One of these unions had also leased a fifth ginnery from the Uganda Government. None of these ginneries would be required to buy cotton from growers other than members of co-operative marketing societies. (December 3.)

Unemployment in British Guiana. In reply to a question by Mr. D. T. Jones, Mr. Lyttelton said that the number of registered unemployed had increased during the past year by some 500 to 2,654. There should be many new opportunities for work as the development plans for the Colony were carried out. These included extensive drainage and irrigation schemes, initiated under the previous government, the first of which had been approved at an estimated cost of some £1,600,000. Towards this H.M. Government would grant £900,000 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. (December 3.)

Guide to Books

The Mende of Sierra Leone

By Kenneth Little. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 28s.)

The Mende of Sierra Leone is the first major report of Dr. K. L. Little's field studies in Africa, but it ranks higher, in its comprehensiveness and scientific detail, than Basden's Niger Ibos and many such anthropological reminiscences of the old school. The lucid and attractive style in which this book is written gives it a literary merit as well as the purely professional. The author's attempt at the difficult task of collecting, co-ordinating, and relating pre-British Mende history is admirable, but the pursuit of inter-group warfare as a 'modus vivendi' rather uncomfortable general impression created.

According to Dr. Little's analysis, Mende custom includes Cognatic as well as Agnatic descent and, therefore, the Kindred group of Mawe rather than the lineage-segment is the logical development. The author shows an amazing grasp of the day-to-day organisation of life in the home, in the village, and in the farm. But the book tends to exaggerate the the influence of Islam upon these facets of Mende society to such an extent that the reader is sometimes left wondering which is Mende and which Muslim. Some members of the Poro cult will undoubtedly repudiate the authenticity of a certain number of the procedures described in The Mende of Sierra Leone as representing the factual bases of traditionally-held beliefs and mysticisms. And it is certainly difficult to understand how the author, who is not an initiate into Poro Society himself, could have come by the explanations he postulates, using the yes-or-no method of inquiry. Howbeit, the educational and civil implications of both Poro and the female secret society, Sande, are seen in clear perspective. The supremacy of a deity-Ngewoover and above primitive African magic symbols is emphasised by the frequent appeals to His intercession, even during the various stages in the solemnization of Poro and Sande rites.

At the family level, Dr. Little has taken pains to inquire into the whys and wherefores of the institution of polygamy in Mendeland, and he has discovered some of its purposes. He has cast doubt on the propitiousness of the return of the bridewealth (average £9!) when a marriage breaks down. On the economic question, Dr. Little illustrates the extent of Mende poverty by means of a computation of annual income in pounds, shillings and pence. He estimates £4-£10 as being average for a rural Mende man, and about £30 for a 'civilised' townsman. He contrasts these sharply with the average annual income of over £100 for a Creole, on the one hand, and £400+ for a European, on the other hand. He thus underlines 'the wide social and economic gap between the European and African

communities in the protectorate.'

From statistical data relating to the salaries of

some Kpa Mende Chiefs and to Chiefdom expenditures, one is able to conclude that it makes political nonsense to have sub-divided the original Kpa Mende into twelve small and separate chiefdoms. The political significance of the District Commissioner and other British Administrators in passing,' and often 're-drafting,' Chiefdom Estimates is brought into sharp relief. So is the fact that 'the senior administrative officer in charge of the election (of Paramount Chief) holds preliminary hearing of the candidates in the open court and decides which of them shall be allowed to retire with the Tribal Authority for the final selection.'

Finally, in recommending The Mende of Sierra Leone to both the serious and light readers, it is hoped that the conventional usage, therein, of words like 'native,' and reference to the 'characteristic' boastful nature of the Mende, will not detract one whit from the over-all quality of the work.

Olumbe Bassir.

The British Commonwealth Since 1815

(Volume II.-The Colonial Territories and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.)

By C. H. Currey. (Angus and Robertson.

The first volume, reviewed on this page in July 1952, related the history of Britain and the Dominions; its successor is more—and less—than a history of the dependent Empire. It is a remarkably comprehensive survey, geographical, economic, political and historical, of the non-self-governing territories of the Crown, from Jamaica to Pitcairn, with special reference, as promised, to developments of the past decade. The scattered pages devoted to the century and a quarter before the last war amount to no more than a third of the book and for some sections are perfunctory. But the chapter on the little known islands of the Pacific is well-balanced and informative.

One must be grateful for so full and appreciative an account of the constitutional reforms and economic plans initiated by Mr. Creech Jones and others at the Colonial Office; but perhaps all this is too near for historical assessment. For Dr. Currey the war is the Great Divide; he is optimistic in his forecasts and possibly over-apt to take official pronouncements as on paramountcy and the colour bar, at their face value. Even in the period of pre-war imperialism he is disposed to concentrate on the 'benign' aspects of colonial policy: his account of the China war of 1858 reads more like Palmerstonian propaganda than objective history and the seamier sides of African colonisation are not exposed to view. There are clear outline maps of the main areas and of African journeys of exploration; the only other illustration is a portrait of Mary Kingsley, whose influence on colonial government is highly

E. E. Dodd. 577

IMPLEMENTING PARTNERSHIP?

On April 8, 1952, the Government of Northern Rhodesia issued a statement on Partnership. Members of Parliament have recently asked the following questions to elicit information on the steps subsequently taken to implement the statement.

Mr. J. Johnson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the plans of the Government of Northern Rhodesia to expand the facilities for African secondary and vocational training.

Mr. Lyttelton: The main features in these plans are an increase in the number of Junior Secondary Course places from 75 to 250. On the technical side, the number of places is to be increased from 150 to 1,140 exclusive of training facilities in mission-managed schools in rural areas which will provide 600 places. (October 15, 1952.)

Mr. J. Dugdale asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when it is proposed to increase the number of African members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, as foreshadowed in the Northern Rhodesian Government's statement of 8 April, 1952,

on partnership.

Mr. Lyttelton: As was implied in the statement to which the right hon. Member refers, it is not proposed to make any changes during the life-time of the present Council. It is intended, however, to discuss the matter next year with representatives of all the interested parties. (October 22, 1952.)

Mr. J. Dugdale asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many African members have been appointed to Municipal Councils and Township Boards in Northern Rhodesia during 1952.

Mr. Lyttelton: I know of none who has yet become a member of the Councils and Boards himself, but in 1951 Africans were co-opted as members of the Africans Affairs Committees of the Boards of the four Copperbelt towns, and in Ndola joint meetings held between the African Affairs Committee of the Municipal Council and the African Urban Advisory Council. (October 22, 1952.)

Mr. J. Johnson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what parts of the Dalgleish Report have implemented by the Government of Northern

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Rhodesia.

Mr. J. Foster: Those parts of the Report concerned with advancing the African worker in the mining industry can be implemented only with the agreement of all parties concerned, which has not so far been forthcoming. In the sphere of Governmental action (e.g., in developing technical training and trade testing facilities and wage-fixing machinery) there has been good progress.

Some of the Commission's proposals about better housing and consolidated wages for higher grade African workmen were embodied in an agreement between the African Mineworkers' Union and the

employers in 1949. (October 29, 1952.)

Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps have been taken by the Government of Northern Rhodesia to encourage a helpful approach to the problem of racial discrimination, as foreshadowed in the Northern Rhodesia Government's statement on 8 April, 1952, on partnership. Mr. Lyttelton: The statement was given full publicity in Northern Rhodesia and has been, and still is being discussed at meetings with representative bodies of Africans all over the territory. Many of those meetings were attended by the Governor who has repeatedly stressed, in public speeches and informally, the importance of a helpful approach by all races to the question of partnership.

Chambers of commerce and individual traders have been asked to help and Government Departments have been instructed to pay particular attention to practices which may appear discriminatory;

they are doing so. (26 November, 1952.)

Mr. J. Johnson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will consider taking steps to discuss with the North Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union, European, and the North Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union, the progressive implementation of the Dalgleish Report.

Mr. Lyttelton: I should much like to see some early progress made with the advancement of Africans in the mining industry of Northern Rhodesia, but I cannot at this moment make any further statement about this difficult and long-standing problem. (November 26, 1952.)

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